



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1897.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the First Vice-President, JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved, and the list of donors to the Library was also read.

The TREASURER then said that the negotiations for the sale to the city of Boston of the Society's estate on Tremont Street had been completed, and notice had been received of the intention of the city to avail itself of the option to purchase contained in the lease of the two lower floors of the building. Accordingly arrangements had been made, with the approval of the Mayor, for mortgaging the estate to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company for the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, repayable in five years, with interest at the rate of four per cent per annum, and for conveying the estate to the city, subject to said mortgage, upon the receipt of the additional sum of fifty thousand dollars, making the whole amount to be received two hundred thousand dollars in cash. He added that two or three facts might be of interest to the younger members of the Society. The building stands on a part of the confiscated estate of Rev. Dr. Caner, rector of King's Chapel, who went to Halifax on the evacuation of Boston by the British troops in 1776. In March, 1833, the Society bought from the Provident Institution in the Town of Boston, which then owned the estate, what was estimated as one quarter part of the property for the sum of sixty-five hundred dollars. On the removal of the Provident Institution to Temple Place, the Society, in February, 1856, bought the remaining portion of the estate for the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars. In 1872 the old building was taken down, and the present fireproof structure was erected at a cost of upward of sixty-one thousand dollars. The exact sum at which the estate stands on the Treasurer's books is \$103,280.19. Since the Society moved here, more than sixty-three years ago,

from the room over the arch in Franklin Place, where its meetings were held and its library kept for nearly forty years, the occupants of the lower part of the building have been the Provident Institution, the Suffolk Savings Bank, the Probate Court, and the Suffolk Registry of Deeds.¹

After an informal discussion, in which MESSRS. WALBRIDGE A. FIELD, CHARLES W. ELIOT, WILLIAM EVERETT, GAMALIEL BRADFORD, EDMUND F. SLAFTER, HENRY G. DENNY, ARTHUR LORD, and the TREASURER took part, the following votes were, on motion of Mr. LORD, unanimously adopted:—

Voted, That the Treasurer of the Society be, and he is hereby, authorized to execute, seal with the corporate seal, acknowledge and deliver in the name and behalf of the Society, a power of sale mortgage of the real estate of the Society on Tremont Street in the city of Boston, to secure the negotiable note of the Society, which said Treasurer is hereby authorized to give in the sum of \$150,000 to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, on such terms and conditions as he and the Council of the Society may approve.

Voted, That the Treasurer of the Society be, and he is hereby, authorized, with the approval of the Council, to execute, seal with the corporate seal, acknowledge and deliver in the name and behalf of the Society, a deed to the city of Boston, conveying the real estate of the Society on Tremont Street in the city of Boston, subject to a mortgage to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company to secure the sum of \$150,000.

The TREASURER then said that in his opinion it would be for the interest of the Society to apply a portion of the money to be received from the sale of this estate to the payment of the mortgage now existing on the Fenway estate, and that he should probably make some further recommendations at a future time. On his motion, it was unanimously —

¹ The indenture between the Provident Institution and the Historical Society, dated March 6, 1833, is printed in the Proceedings, vol. i. pp. 461-463; and some further details connected with the Society's ownership of the estate may be found in the Treasurer's annual report, dated March 31, 1887, printed in 2 Proceedings, vol. iii. pp. 291-293.

Voted, That the Treasurer be, and he is hereby, authorized to apply the sum of \$30,000, received from the sale of the Tremont Street estate, to the payment of the mortgage on the Society's Fenway estate.

Rev. Leverett Wilson Spring, D.D., of Williams College, was elected a Resident Member; and Woodrow Wilson, LL.D., of Princeton University, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. Thornton K. Lothrop was appointed to write the memoir of the late Francis A. Walker for publication in the Proceedings.

MR. JAMES F. RHODES then read a paper on the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, of which the following is a brief abstract:—

Emancipation of the slaves as a policy was determined upon by President Lincoln as early as July, 1862; but at the suggestion of Secretary Seward the proclamation was withheld until it could be issued after a military success. In the two months which followed this decision, the President had an opportunity to consider the question on all sides; there being pressure on him from the radicals to strike at slavery, and pressure on him from the conservatives against the adoption of such a course. The apparent inconsistency of Lincoln's expressions at this time is a manner of thinking aloud, to bring up to his mind all the *pros* and *cons* before affixing his hand and seal to an irrevocable edict. To conservatives he argued the radical view, to radicals the conservative side of the question.

The last of August Lee defeated Pope overwhelmingly at the second battle of Bull Run, and threatened Washington, Baltimore, and Harrisburg by his invasion into Maryland, which was one of the results of his signal victory. "When the rebel army was at Frederick" (September 6-10), Lincoln afterwards said, "I determined as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland to issue a proclamation of emancipation. . . . I said nothing to any one, but I made the promise to myself and to my Maker." September 17 the battle of Antietam was fought and won by McClellan. September 22 the momentous cabinet meeting took place. It was the design of the paper to show the incongruity of Lincoln's humor on so solemn an occa-

sion; and the chapter from Artemus Ward's book, "High-handed Outrage at Utica," with the reading of which he prefaced the announcement of his earnest decision, was quoted entirely. After this essay at fun, which the President and all the members of his cabinet except Stanton enjoyed, he fell into a grave tone, and declared his deliberate and zealous purpose to issue a proclamation freeing the slaves. On the morrow, September 23, this edict, this mark of the world's progress, was given to the country.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated the following paper relating to the early history of printing in New England:—

I wish to submit copies of some papers found among the Massachusetts Archives at the State House, which will explain themselves. They consist of documents relating to the early history of printing at Cambridge, and give some new facts connected with the development of that art in New England. Among these manuscripts are two petitions of Marmaduke Johnson, dated at different times, which supplement the remarks made by our late venerable associate, the Reverend Dr. Lucius R. Paige, and published in the Proceedings (XX. 265-268) of this Society for June, 1883.

The signer of these two papers, Marmaduke Johnson, was one of the early printers of the Colony, who came to New England in the year 1660, under the auspices of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians. He had been bred a printer and was skilled in the art, and had been sent over by that Corporation in order to help set up Eliot's version of the Bible and to hasten the completion of that great undertaking. His career while at Cambridge did not comport with the strict ideas of his Puritan neighbors, and there was much friction between him and them. He had left a wife in London, and his conduct here did not commend itself to their notions of propriety; though in justice to him I will say that during his troubles the apostle Eliot remained on friendly terms with him.

Johnson's term of engagement as a printer ended in August, 1664; and soon afterward he returned to England, as in both his petitions to the General Court he speaks of coming back to this country in 1665, with his press and type, or "letters,"

as he calls them. It is an interesting fact to know that at that time he brought over another press to Cambridge, which made the third one then in the Colony. Mr. Thomas, in his "History of Printing in America" (I. 273, 274), gives the titles of ten books and pamphlets printed by Johnson alone, which were issued during the period extending from 1665 to 1674. By the light of these petitions it is easy to see why his imprints began with the year 1665, and, as he died in Boston, on December 25, 1674, it is equally clear why they stop at that date. During this decade, however, from time to time he printed several titles in connection with Samuel Green, though probably there was no regular partnership between them. Presumably their presses were set up in the same building, and perhaps in the same room, which might account for their close business relations. At that time Green's press was worked in the Indian College, so called, built at the expense of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel, etc. According to Daniel Gookin's account of the Indians, printed in the Collections (I. 176) of this Society, the building had "hitherto [1674] been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars, and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the college."

In the second edition of Thomas's "History of Printing in America" (I. 59) the editor, Dr. Haven, says in a foot-note that he has "not found any book printed in Boston, or in any other town in Massachusetts, excepting Cambridge, until the year 1674," — which would imply that he had seen a Boston imprint of that date, though no such title is given in his list of "Ante-Revolutionary Publications." It is known that Johnson was printing at Cambridge as late as the beginning of August, 1674; and, as his second petition was granted by the General Court, it is within the range of possibilities that later in the year he established his press in Boston, and that some titlepage bore his imprint. As he died here, it is very likely that his home was here at that time; and I shall not despair some day of seeing a specimen of his handicraft done in Boston shortly before his death.

In the same edition of Thomas's "History of Printing" (I. 69), Dr. Haven makes some interesting statements in regard to the typography of a copy of "The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testaments," belong-

ing to the American Antiquarian Society; and to a certain extent his remarks are verified by inferences drawn from these papers. It is very likely that this book was printed by Johnson, with his font of type, then presumably new, which he brought over in 1665. In speaking of the work, Dr. Haven says:—

I have a complete copy of this edition, but the name of the printer, and the year in which it was printed, are not mentioned. It is calculated by being printed in a small page, with a very small type, to bind up with English editions of the pocket Bible; and, as the printing is executed by a good workman, and is the best that I have seen from the Cambridge press, I conclude, therefore, it could not be printed by Green before the arrival of Marmaduke Johnson in 1660; I have no doubt it was printed under Johnson's care; and, probably, soon after the Indian Bible came from the press in 1663. Johnson was a good printer, and so called by the corporation in England, who engaged, and sent him over, to assist Green in printing that work. Although in this edition the typography far exceeds in neatness any work then printed in the country, it is very incorrect; but this might have been more the fault of the corrector of the press, than of the printer. My belief that it was published about the year 1664, or 1665, is confirmed by its being printed for Hezekiah Usher, the only bookseller that I can find an account of at that time, in New England. He dealt largely in merchandise, and was then agent to the corporation in England, for propagating the Gospel in New England. It is a curious fact, that nonpareil types were used so early in this country; I have not seen them in any other book printed either at Cambridge, or Boston, before the revolution; even brevier types had been but seldom used in the printing houses in Boston, earlier than 1760. The nonpareil used for the Psalms was new, and a very handsome faced letter.

The first restriction on the liberty of the press at Cambridge was placed by the General Court in October, 1662, when two licensers were appointed without whose "allowance" and approval nothing could be printed. This action was due, perhaps entirely, to the publication of some religious tracts during the preceding year which gave offence to the clergy and others. The founders of New England feared the dangers of theological heresy more than those of political revolutions. While in matters of government they were far in advance of their contemporaries, they had not yet learned the lesson of toleration in religious thought. The restriction, however,

was soon taken off, as the law was repealed at the next session of the legislature, which began on May 27, 1663, but only to be re-enacted two years later, with an additional requirement as to the town where the press could be set up.

The enactment of this restriction was aimed at Johnson, as it was passed on May 27, 1665,—after his arrival, according to the second petition,—and not on October 19, 1664, as stated in the “History of Printing” (I. 58).

The volume and page of the Archives where these several manuscripts may be found, are indicated by Roman letters and Arabic figures within parentheses, at the end of each paper.

The legislative order in regard to the press and Johnson's two petitions are as follows:—

ffor the p̄ventinge of Irregularities & abuse to the Authoritie of
this Country by the printinge presse

It is Ordered by this Court & Authoritie thereof that there shalbe no
printing presses allowed in any towne within this Jurisdiction but in
Cambridge nor shall any p̄son or p̄sons p̄sume to print any Coppie but
by the allowance first had & obtayned vnder the hands of such as this
Court shall from time to time empowre therevnto, & for the p̄sent doe
nominate & empowre Cap. Daniel Gookin m̄ Tho: Danforth the p̄sent
p̄sident of the Colledge & m̄ Jonathan Michell or any three of them
duely to suruay such coppie or coppies as afforesd & in case of non ob-
servance of this order to forfeit the prese to the country & be disabled
from vsing any such proffessiō w^{thin} this Jurisdictiō for the time to come,
provided this order shall not extend to the obstruction of any Coppie
which this Court shall judge meet to order to be published in print the
deputs haue past this desireinge the consent of o^r Hono^rd magists

27 (3)^d 1665

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*

Consented vnto p̄vided that instead of Cap^t Daniell Gookin
and m̄ Tho: Danforth m̄ John Shearman and m̄ Tho: Shep-
herd be deputed to Joyne wth the p̄sent p̄sident and m̄ Jona-
than Mitchell any two of whome shall haue power to allowe or
p̄hibit printing according to this order

RI: BELLINGHAM *Gov^r*

Consented to by the deputs

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*

[Indorsed] Order abt printing^e ¶ Curiam

27 May 65

1665

(LVIII. 55.)

To the hono^{ble} the Govern^r, the Deputy Govern^r, and the rest
of the Honored Magistrats, & deputies of the Masachu-
sets Collony Assembled in the Generall Court at Boston.
29th 2^{mo} 1668

The humble petition of Marmaduke Johnson of Cambridge,
Printer.

Sheweth,

That yo^r petitioner by the good hand & providence of God
returning from England in the year 1665. with his printing
press, & letters, and finding no law of the Country, nor order
of any Court to prohibit y^e Exercise of his calling in any
town, or place convenient within this Jurisdiction, did apply
himself (according to the Custome of strangers) to the Select-
men of the Town of Boston, for their admittance of him into
that town to inhabit: In which Juncture of time, yo^r peti-
tioner was informed that an order had passed this Hon^d
Court, prohibiting the Exercise of printing in any town within
this Jurisdiction, save only at Cambridge. Whereupon yo^r
petitioner did yeild ready obedience thereunto, and tooke
Cambridge for his place of abode, where he hath ever since
continued. Now may it please this hon^d Court, yo^r peti-
tioner finding to his great loss & detriment the inconveniency
of living in a town where no trade, or very little is managed,
especially in that which is appertaining to, or tends to the
promotion of his calling, as yo^r petitioner is ready more fully
to demonstrate if called thereunto, and being desirous by all
lawfull ways & means to make himself, and his art as usefull
and advantageous to this Commonwealth as possibly he may,
by Gods blessing on his indeav^rs: And humbly conceiving that
there is not the like restraint, or confinement of any other
art, or science:

Doth therefore in all humility pray & beseech this
hon^d Court, that you would be pleased to take the
premises into yo^r grave & serious Considerations, that
so (if in yo^r wisdomes you shall see meet) the practi-
tioners of the art of Printing may have liberty to sit
down in such convenient place within this Jurisdiction,
as they shall finde most commodious for them; sub-
mitting at all times to all such laws & orders as are, or
shall be made concerning the premises, by the Author-
ity of this Co^monwealth.

And yo^r Petitioner (as in duty bound)
shall ever pray. &c.

The Magists. Judge it not convenient to grant the peticoners request their brethren the deputyes hereto Consenting

EDW: RAWSON *Secre^{ty}*

12 May 1668

The deputyes Consent hereto

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*

The deputyes have further voted that the pet.^r should haue his money he payd for entry of his pet. be returned agayne wth reference to the consent of o^r Hono^rd magists hereto

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*

(LVIII. 58.)

To the hon^{ble} the Governo^r, Deputy Governo^r, & the rest of the hon^d: Magistrates & Deputies for the Massachusetts Colony, assembled in Generall Court at Boston, 27: 3^d Moneth, 1674.

The humble Petition of Marmaduke Johnson of Cambridge, Printer:

Sheweth,

That yo^r pet^r being in London brought up in the Art of Printing, & in no other Calling or Occupation; & being by the Providence of God brought into this Country with his Press & Letters in the year 1665. It pleased this hon^d Court (after his arrivall) to pass an Order bearing date the 3^d of May in the year aforesaid, thereby prohibiting the exercise of Printing in any Town within this Jurisdiction, save only at Cambridge: In obedience wherevnto yo^r pet^r hath ever since made that his place of residence. But finding by long & sad Experience the great disco^modity & detriment by such Confinement of his Calling, & an absolute impossibility of providing comfortably for himself & family by the Incomes thereof, though managed with greatest Care, & followed with all possible diligence, not having employment therein for one third part of his time, Conflicting with difficulties too great & many to be here recited: And also being sensible of the loss & disadvantage accrewing hereby to the Co^monwealth, who by his Art & Endeavo^{rs} might have many vsefull & profitable Tracts printed and published here, were he allowed the liberty of his Calling in a convenient place of Trade: And humbly conceiving, no more security to the State, in preventing the printing things irregular, or abusive therevnto, by such Confinement, then if it were exercised in the most popul^{ous} Town within this jurisdiction; all which yo^r pet^r is ready to demonstrate, if called therevnto:

Doth therefore in all humility pray this hon^d Court, That you would be pleased to take the premises into yo^r grave & serious Considerations, & grant him such liberty & relief therein as in yo^r wisdoms shall seem meet; that so the Art of Printing may by this hond: Court be duely encouraged, & the practition^{rs} thereof have lawfull liberty of exercising the same in such place within this Jurisdiction, as they shall finde most comōdious for them, & most to the advantage of the Comōnwealth; submitting at all times to such Laws & Orders as are or shall be made concerning the premises, by the Authority of this Comōnwealth.

And yo^r pet^r (as in duty bound shall ever pray &c.

MARMADUKE JOHNSON.

30th May 1674:

The magis^{ts}. Judge meet to grant the peticoners request so as nothing be printed till licenc be obteyned according to lawe their Brethren the deputies hereto Consenting

EDW[·] RAWSON *Secre^{ty}*

The deputies Consent hereto

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*

(LVIII. 91.)

At a much earlier period an attempt was made by the General Court to restrict the liberty of the press in the Colony, but the bill passed only one branch of the legislature. The exact date of the attempt is not known, but it was either during 1651 or 1655, — probably the latter year, — as those were the only two years when Endicott was Governor while Rawson was Secretary; and in 1651 Shepard was an undergraduate at college. The following is a copy of the bill: —

ffor as much as seuerall inconueniencys may acrew to the Commonwealth by ye liberty of ye pres this Cort doth heerby order y^t noe booke or wrighting shall bee imprinted wthin this Jurisdiction (exsept such questions as are ordinarily disputed at y^e Commensmts in ye Colledge ffrom time to time) Vnless they shall be licenced by such psons as are or shall bee appoynted by this Cort for y^t end, & iff any pson or psons shall imprint or Cause to be imprinted any booke or wrighting with out licence (as same w^t before is expresd) shall therby incur such Censure from this Court as the nature of y^t offence shall diserne, & further this Court doth heerby nominate & authorise: the Gouverner for ye time being — Maior Daniell Dennison & mr Thomas Sheperd

or any two of them to bee licencers of y^e pres (during ye pleasure of ye Court

The Deputies haue voted this order desiring our
magistrates concurrence heerein

EDWARD RAWSON *Cleric.*

The magistrates see no ground to consent wth o^r brethen
the deputies heerein.

JO: ENDECOTT. *Gou^r*

[Indorsed] Bill for licenc^{rs} to y^e
presse
not granted.

(LVIII. 11.)

A dozen years later another attempt was made to restrict the liberty of the press here, but it proved unsuccessful: —

It is orderd by this court & the authority therof: that no printer within this Jurisdiction shall p^rsume to imprint any book or paper, for publike sale, vnles the same be alowed vnder the hands of m^r Charls Chancy m^r John Sheman pastour of waterton m^r Jonathan Michel pastor of cambridge m^r Tho Shepard teacher of Charlestowne or any 2 of them; vpon the penalty of forfeiture of all the imp^rsions to be seased on by warrant from one or 2 magistrates & the fine of fieve pounds: to be payd by the printer for eury offenc being herof Legaly conuicted The magists haue past this wth Reference to the Consent of their bretheren the deputjes heere to
21th of may 1667

EDW: RAWSON *Secrety*

the debutys Consntd not herto

27: 3: 1667

RICHARD WALDERN *Speker*

(LVIII. 57.)

The following papers set forth sufficiently well their own story. The answers, made by Green and Johnson, on September 3, 1668, to the Governor and Council, are of special interest as they give the titles of some early American imprints, which hitherto have escaped the attention of bibliographers. "The Isle of Pines," printed by Johnson without authority, was a small pamphlet of the Baron Munchausen order, which in its day passed through several editions in England and on the Continent. Undoubtedly it shocked the sensibilities of the truthful and matter-of-fact authorities here, and probably was the immediate cause of the prosecution of the printer, which resulted in a fine of five pounds. Perhaps "the primer,"

also printed by Johnson, is the long-sought-for first edition of the New-England Primer, which for so many years has been a puzzle to collectors and librarians.

To Marshall Edward Michelson

You are hereby required in his maj^{ty's} name forthwith to Sumon & Require Marmaduke Johnson Printer to make his personall appearance before the Council sitting at Boston on 3^d Instant at nine of y^e clock in the morning to give an account of what bookes haue lately been printed at Cambridg by whom. & by what Authority: hereof you are not to faile dated in Boston. 2d September 1668.

Making your returne to y^e Secretary

By y^e Council EDW. RAWSON *Secrety*

To marshall Edward Michelson

You are hereby required in his maj^{ty's} name forthwith to sumon & require Samuell Green: Printer to make his personall appearanc before the Council sitting at Boston on 3^d Instant at nine of ye clocke in the morning to give an account of what bookes haue lately been printed at Cambridge: by whom & by what authority: hereof you are not to faile dated at Boston. 2^d Septemb: 1668. Making your returne to the Secretary:

By y^e Council: EDW: RAWSON *Secrety*

Att A Councill held at Boston 3 Sept 68.

The warrants were Read y^t were sent for for [sic] Samuell Grene Printer &c.

being askt what bookes he had printed for whom & by w^t Authority he Ans'd a Drop of Honey he printed for himself = 2 y^e Rule of y^e new Creature: 3 y^e way to a blessed Estate in this life. 4 The Assembly of Divines Chatchise 5 a narration of y^e plague & fier at London. 6 Tidings from Roome the grand Trappan 7 y^t he had licenc for them all from: y^e President & M^r Michelle & y^e young mans monito^r:

Marmaduke John, w^t books

Ans^d, he printed the primer: & and [sic] y^e psalter: 2. Meditations on death & eternity 3 (: 4 y^e Rise spring &c of y^e Annabaptists 5 Isle of Pines: he hath y^e Righteous mans: evidenc for heauen. by M^r Rog^s he had licenc for all by m^r Presidnt &. m^r Chancey [?] but y^e Isle of Pines.

P^rsent
Gou^r [Bellingham]
Dept Gou^r [Willoughby]
Symon Bradstreet
Sa^m. Symonds
Dani. Gookin
Dani. Dennison
Rich Russell
Tho Danforth
W^m Hawthorn
Eliaz^r Lusher
Jn^o Leueret
Jn^o Pinchon
Edw Ting

Esq^{rs}:

At the end of Johnson's answer to the Governor and Council, the name of Mr. Chauncy is evidently a mistake for that of Mr. Mitchell, as Chauncy was then the president of the College. The Historical Society has a copy of the fourth title mentioned in Johnson's list, namely: "The Rise, Spring and Foundation of the Anabaptists," etc.

To the honorable Councill of the Coñonwealth.

The humble Petition of Marmaduke Johnson of
Cambridge, Printer.

Sheweth,

That yo^r Petition^r doth with all humility acknowledge his rashness & inadvertency in printing a late pamphlett (called, The Isle of Pines) without due Order & License first had & obtain'd; for which being summoned before their honorable Councill, upon his Confession & conviction, was fined in the sum of five pounds to the Coñonwealth. Now may it please this honoured Councill, yo^r Petition^r having in that act no intent or design to contemn Authority, or to vend or publish anything that might be displeasing thereto (as may appear by his affixing his Name to the said Pamphlett) but only the hope of procuring something to himself thereby for his necessary subsistence; his calling in this Country being very chargeable, his living thereon difficult, the gain thereby vncertain, & his losse by printing frequent: He therefore humbly prayes this honoured Councill, (if it may seem good to yo^r wisdomes) that the said fine may be remitted vnto him, & he discharged from the payment thereof.

And yo^r pet^r shall ever pray &c.

(LVIII. 63.)

The following papers relate to Samuel Green, the immediate successor of Stephen Day, who was the pioneer printer in the English colonies. Though not bred to the art, he began to print about the year 1649, and continued in the business until about 1692, the date of his latest publication. He was the father of a race of printers, and two of his sons, Samuel, Jr., and Bartholomew, were brought up to the same calling, as were many of his descendants. The father died in Cambridge, on January 1, 1702, aged 87 years; and Samuel, Jr., died in Boston, during the latter part of July, 1690, aged 42 years. Allusion to the son's death is found in one of the following bills, which were made out by the brother who administered on the estate. Bartholomew died in Boston, on December 28,

1732, aged 65 years, having lived a life distinguished for piety and benevolence.

Several of the titles charged in the first bill, notably "An Act for a fast printing twice over" (February 17, 1690), "one Sheet of Laws for Reformation" (March 17), and "a half Sheet about Sr: William [Phips] to go General" (March 24), are to be found in the Historical Library, and are mentioned in the list of Early American Imprints given in the Proceedings (second series, IX. 484, 486) for February, 1895.

To the Hon^{red} Generall Court assembled
at Boston, the Information & request
of Samuel Green, Printer at Cambridge

Humbly sheweth

Whereas y^o poare Servant hath (althovgh with many wants & difficultyes) spent some yeares in attending ye service of ye Country in that worke of Printing, The Presse & the appurtenances thereof, w^hout a speedy s^{vy}pply, & y^t especially of letters, & those principally for y^e printing of English, is now almost wholly vncapeable of farther improvem^t, either for the answering of y^e Countreyes expectation, or for the benefitt of such as are employed therein, & y^e Colledge (to whome y^e presse doth p^{pr}ly belong) have not ability in theyr hands to helpe, so that vnlesse some p^rsent care bee taken by the wisdome & furtherance of this Honrd Court, y^e improvem^t thereof must of necessity cease, & yo^r poore servant must bee forced to change either his habitation or employm^t or both. The consideration & supply whereof is the humble request of y^o poore servant, or if not, y^o determination therein, y^t so hee may more clearely see his way for ye serving of the p^rvidence of god in some other calling.

In answer to this pet. the deputies Conceiue the Consideration hereof should be Commended to the Co^missione^{rs} of the Vnited Colonyes at their next meetinge that so they may write to the Corporation in England if they se meet for the p^cureing of 20^{li} worth of letters for the vse of the Indian Colledge the deputies haue past this & desire o^r honrd magists Consent hereto.

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*

Consented to by y^e Magists.

EDW. RAWSON *Secrety*

5 June 1658.

[Indorsed] Sarjant Greens Petic^on

Entred wth y^e magists & nothing due p Curiam

Ent 1658.

(LVIII. 37.)

To the Honoured Councill sitting att Boston
the Humble request of Samuel Green printer to the Colledge
att Cambridge :

Humbly intreateth that whereas there was an Order made by the Honoured Generall Court concerning printing : that there should be no printing but att Cambridge ; and that what was printed there should be approved by those four Gentlemen appointed by the Court then, or any two of them, yo^r Worships would please to explaine whether it is required those Gentlemen that allow of the printing of what is presented, should sett to their hands as Imprimators to it ; as also when they express there shall be no printing but att Cambridge, whether they intend that any one may sett up printing, provided it be in that town, or any part of it ; or whether they intend that the printing be only under the inspection of the Colledge there ; if there be libertie for any to sett up printing in the limitts of that Town that they would please to make such orders concerning it, that one may not wrong another by printing anothers copie when he hath been att charge about it, as it is in other places where severall printing houses are : for some of us do find a need of such things already, although there is but worke little inough for one printing house, to the great discouragement of yo^r poor Serv^t : in the place whereto he hath been called and hitherto to his poor abillitie hath endeavoured to be faithfull in it, according to what hath been required

And yo^r Serv^t : shall ever pray :

CAMBR: Octob: 14: (68)

(LVIII. 60.)

The new Council D^r since the General Court :
for Printing :

			ls	s	d
1689:					
April	26 :	To an order to the Constables.	00	05	00
May :	2	To an Act to send 2 men of every Town to the Council :	00	05	00
	3	To an Act for a fast	00	10	00
	30	To an Act of the Council for the Representatives	00	05	00
June	14	To 2 Acts of the Council about the Militia, &c :	01	00	00
July	3	To 3 Acts of the Council, 5 s P Act :	00	15	00
	6	To an Act of half a Sheet about the militia	00	10	00
	14	To an Act of the Council about a Humiliation day,	00	10	00
Sept	6	To an Act of the Council half a sheet, about a loan for money,	0	10	00
	6	To printing a broad=side for Subscriptions	00	10	00
	7	To printing a warrant for the Treasurer,	00	05	00

[Sept]	9	To printing an Act for a fast half a sheet	00 - 10 - 00
	12	To printing a sheet of Laws on both sides	01 - 05 - 00
November)			
	27)	To a warrant for 6 Rates together	00 - 05 - 00
Decem :	6	To a warrant for a Rate & half	00 - 05 - 00
	10	To an Order for a Thanks-giving half a sheet	00 - 10 - 00
1690:)			
Janua :	3)	To an order for a Contribution for Capt. Peas half sheet	00 - 10 - 00
	4	To an Act about Settling the Government half sheet :	00 - 10 = 00
	4	To an Act about Souldiers Debentors half sheet	00 - 10 = 00
Febru :	17 :	To an Act for a fast printing twice over	00 - 10 = 00
	18	To an Act of the General Court to Constibles to bring $\frac{1}{2}$ Rates	0 - 10 - 00
	22	To a Sheet of Laws about voting for Election &c :	01 - 10 = 00
	24	To 2 orders of Court for the Treasurer	01 - 00 - 00
March :	5	To Commissions of foot Companies 100 a peace, 3 of them	01 - 10 - 00
	8	To 4 Comissions for Troopers, for the Comission officers	01 - 10 - 00
	17	To one Sheet of Laws for Reformation	01 - 10 - 00
	24	To a half Sheet about Sr : William [Phips] to go General	00 - 10 - 00
April :	1 :	To printing a warrant for ten Rates	00 - 05 - 00
	5	To 3 Comissions for Captains, Lieutenants & Ensigns for the present war	01 - 10 - 00
May .	24	To Comissions for Capt : Lieut : & Ensigns	01 - 10 - 00
June	20	To a Proclamation for Souldiers to go against Canada	00 - 10 - 00
	30	To an half sheet for a fast	00 - 10 - 00
July	3	To 2 Acts of Court on half a sheet of paper 100 of them :	00 = 10 = 00
	6	To Comissions for Captains Lieutenants, & Ensigns,	01 = 10 = 00
	21 :	To printing warrants for 2 Rates a Large one	00 - 06 - 00
			<u>24 = 11 = 00</u>

1690

Since my Brothers Death :

August

9 :	To printing a warrant for Rates,	00 = 05 - 00
20	To an order for a Fast a Large one,	00 = 10 = 00

[August]	23	To a warrant for Rates	00 = 05 = 00
	25	To printing an Order about Heads of Families	00 = 07 = 00
			01 = 07 = 00
			24 = 11 = 00
		total	£ 25 = 18 = 00

Oct^r 20. 1690. This is a true acc^t
 taken out of ye Book of Sam^l
 Green deceased as attest,

BARTHOLOMEW GREEN,

[Indorsed] Ordered, that m^r Treasur^r pay the Sum^e of the within written Acco^{ts} amounting to Twenty five pounds Eighteen Shillings in or as money unto the Administ^{rs} of the within named Samuel Green.

Nov^r 7. 1690.

Past in y^e affirmative by the Gov^r
 and Assistants.

Is^t ADDINGTON Sec^{ry}.

Consented to by the Deputyes

JOHN CLARK Cler

(LVIII. 137, 138.)

The Country D^r:

			Is	s	d
1691:					
April:	20.	To printing an order of the Court for Soldiers to come in to the Committee within three months	}	00 = 13 = 00	
April:	25.	To printing an order of a fast			
June	5.	To printing an order of the Court for the Treasurer to send warrants to the Constables to get their Raits, A Large half sheet of the small Letter, about 100.	}	01 = 00 = 00	
June:	5:	To printing a Large warrant, about 100:			
July.	12.	To printing a warrant		00 = 08 = 00	
July	10	To printing a warrant for Commissioners		00 = 08 = 00	
August.	7.	To printing an Advertisement about 300:		00 = 08 = 00	
Septem:	14.	To printing a Large warrants for deputies,		00 = 08 = 00	
October	23:	To printing the Tickets about 800		00 = 12 = 00	
October	24:	To printing a Large warrant to quicken Constables to get in there Raits	}	00 = 08 = 00	
October.	27:	To printing an order for a Thansgiving			
				00 = 16 = 00	
				£ 06 = 06 = 00	

¶ BARTHOLO: GREEN.

[Indorsed] Cap^{ne} Green^s Acco^{ts}
 of Printing unto
 Nov^r 1691.

Nil prodest quod non Legere possit idem.

(LVIII. 139.)

The VICE-PRESIDENT briefly referred to the interesting meeting of the Society, in November, 1883, in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther, and called attention to the fact that the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Philip Melancthon would occur in a few days. He was followed by Rev. Dr. SAMUEL E. HERRICK, who read the following paper:—

On the 10th of November, 1883, the Massachusetts Historical Society celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther by a public service in the Arlington Street Church. The orator upon that occasion, our former associate, Dr. Frederic H. Hedge, in a philosophical analysis and estimate of Luther's work which stands easily in the first rank among the multitude of historic tributes called forth by that great anniversary, said of the Protestant Reformation which Luther inaugurated, that it would be "very imperfectly apprehended if construed solely as a schism in the Church, a new departure in religion. In a larger view, it was our modern world, with its social developments, its liberties, its science, its new conditions of being, evolving itself from the old; the dearest goods of our estate—civil independence, spiritual emancipation, individual scope, the larger room, the unbound thought, the free pen, whatever is most characteristic of this New England of our inheritance—we owe to the great Saxon Reformer," Martin Luther. With this estimate, especially as it was colored by the recognition of other contemporary agencies, "the printing-press, the revival of letters, the discovery of a new continent and other geographical and astronomical findings," we should probably all agree. But we are reminded by the approach of another historic date, February 16, 1897, which marks the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Philip Melancthon, that Luther had his adjutant. It is hardly too much to say that in whatever aspect the work of Luther may be regarded, no fair estimate can be arrived at which leaves Melancthon out of the account. His hand is ever in the movement, though not always obvious,—and in a ministry most varied. In the brief time allotted for this notice it will be impossible to deal chronologically and minutely with the facts of his life. They are apparently susceptible of no new interpretation, perhaps of

no fresh light. They were as well understood three hundred years ago as they are to-day. It was possible for Froude in his later years to re-write the life of Erasmus, and to set it in a light which we could wish might be permanent; but it is doubtful whether the brilliant historian has spoken the final word. But upon Melanchthon it seems hardly possible for any new construction to be placed. He was, and is, transparent, as Erasmus was not during his life, and still is not, Froude's interpretation notwithstanding.

I shall content myself with noting here what seem to me to be the two great historic aspects of Melanchthon's relation to the Protestant Reformation.

In the first place, it was through Melanchthon chiefly that Humanism passed over into the Protestant movement. It is true that Protestantism grew out of Humanism; at least both were developments of the same historical spirit. The movement of Luther, or something like it, was an inevitable sequence of the revival of letters. It was to be looked for, that the recovery of the knowledge of classical antiquity should be accompanied, or speedily followed, by the recovery of that of Christian antiquity. But while the Renaissance made the Reformation inevitable, its masters largely refused to be identified with the religious movement. In Italy they ignored it altogether. The famous printers of the peninsula sent forth those beautiful editions of the classics which bibliophiles love to-day, but they printed no Greek Testament. In Germany Reuchlin revived the Hebrew prophets, and Erasmus published his New Testament; but personally neither Reuchlin nor Erasmus ever became identified with Lutherism. However these men may have been disgusted with the barbarism and the absurdities of the old religious order, they stood in dread of the unknown and unpredictable developments which might spring from the new, and so held themselves aloof. They furnished explosives of the latest invention, and arms of the most modern and destructive make, but otherwise would have no hand in the revolutionary warfare. But Melanchthon, beginning purely as a Humanist and the peer of Reuchlin or Erasmus, in their liberal studies, betook himself at a very early date to the side of Luther. Coming in 1518 as Professor of Greek to Wittenberg, just as all Germany was ablaze from the torch which Luther had set

flaming in its church-door, he made Wittenberg at the same time the centre of German Humanism. The two streams coalesced. Up to this point Luther was no Humanist, and Melanchthon no Protestant; after this each lived more or less in the spirit of the other. Melanchthon brought into the Protestantism of Luther the literary spirit. He put the foundations of a "Higher Criticism" under the "New Theology" of the time. He taught the students who now began to throng the lecture-rooms of Wittenberg to construe Homer in the morning and Paul in the afternoon, and both in the calm and ingenuous temper of unprejudiced scholarship. And so while he was bringing the New Learning into the New Theology, he was also leavening the ranks of rising Humanists with knowledge drawn from the rediscovered sources of Christianity. To him it was due in no small degree that what Leo X. was at first disposed to regard as a mere "monkish squabble," he was soon compelled to recognize as a movement of intellectual and spiritual power. In him the Renaissance was redeemed from its Paganism, and the Reformation defended against that contempt and superciliousness with which a conservative and elegant erudition regards its intellectual inferiors.

A second aspect of Melanchthon's work which I note arises rather from his character as a man, and has to do with personal qualities. It has often been noted that Luther and Melanchthon were, both in intellect and disposition, complementary each to the other. Apart from the fact that one had been saturated with the spirit of the Renaissance before coming into the reform movement while the other had plunged into the reform as yet almost untouched by the forces of Humanism, there was a further balance between them of natural qualities. The "little Greek," as Luther called his fellow, was like a pilot-fish to the blundering Teuton. Melanchthon's scholarship was finer, his vision more comprehensive, his judgment more sane, his speech more temperate. His was the centripetal conservative force which balanced and guarded the centrifugal and radical spirit of his chief. He ballasted Luther's impulse. Luther allowed his whole nature and action to be polarized by the thought of the hour. He looked at truths; Melanchthon saw Truth. So while one was often intrepid to the verge of rashness, the other was some-

times cautious almost to timidity. The mutual compensation of the two men was admirable. A special Bridgewater Treatise might be erected upon it, if Bridgewater treatises were not out of date.

Even if there were time, it would here be out of place to enter upon the specific theological services rendered by Melanchthon to the great religious movement. His part in making Luther's Bible the classic that it was and is; his leadership during Luther's confinement in the Wartburg; his confession drawn up for the Diet at Augsburg; his "*Loci Communes*," which Erasmus said was like a mighty army drawn up in order of battle; the multifarious labors of his thought and pen which made him, in a sense in which Luther never was, the literary exponent of the Reformation in Germany,—are things known and read of all men, and call for no rehearsal here. Their importance has been and will be variously interpreted by the great divisions of Christendom. But the wise, calm spirit of the man, his humanities, his historical instinct, his freedom from the odium theologicum, his vision of the original and essential unity of the Kingdom of Righteousness, are still a living lesson for which all scholars, of whatever faith, owe a debt of gratitude to his memory.

Melanchthon died on the 19th of April, 1560.

It is well known that Albrecht Dürer occupied himself for some time, in the later years of his life, in etching upon copper, "in a style of consummate care and power, several portraits of his friends, among them the Elector Frederick, Pirkheimer, Erasmus, and Melanchthon." It was my good fortune, when spending some days in the Austrian Tyrol ten years ago, to find one of these etchings, from the original plate, of the portrait of Melanchthon; of which I now ask the acceptance by the Society, as a memorial of our observance of this anniversary.

Rev. Dr. ALEXANDER V. G. ALLEN, having been called on, read a paper as follows:—

The important facts in the life of Melanchthon which are necessary in order to a judgment upon his career, may be briefly enumerated. He was born on the 16th of February,

1497, in the Rhenish Palatinate, the son of an armorer known as the Locksmith of Heidelberg. His father dying when he was young, his great-uncle, the famous Reuchlin, took charge of his education. His family name, Schwarzerd, was translated by Reuchlin into Greek as Melanchthon. The boy was precocious as a scholar to a most extraordinary degree. When he was twelve years old, he went to the University of Heidelberg, taking his degree there of Bachelor of Arts in his fourteenth year. When the degree of Master of Arts was denied him on account of his youth, he left Heidelberg in chagrin for the University of Tübingen, where he took up ancient literature and history, both of which studies were then feeling the influence of Reuchlin and Erasmus. At the age of sixteen he published a Greek grammar, which made him known in Germany; and in the following year he took the degree of Master of Arts. The characteristics of his mind were profundity, thoroughness, and accuracy, combined with a memory which forgot nothing. While still a youth, he was recognized as the coming scholar of his age, the successor of Reuchlin and Erasmus. Reuchlin was proud of him, and Erasmus testified publicly to the admiration he felt for him, by inserting a passage in his "Annotations to the First Epistle to the Thessalonians," published in 1522, which is remarkable as coming from the great prince of learning: "Immortal God! what promise is there in this young man, — this *boy*! His attainments in both literatures are equally valuable. What ingenuity, what acumen, what purity of language, what beauty of expression, what a memory for the most unfamiliar things, what a wide extent of reading!"

Erasmus did not probably exaggerate, for that was not characteristic of the man. Before Melanchthon was twenty-one, he had lectured on ancient literature at the University of Tübingen, he had edited the Comedies of Terence, had translated Aratus and some of the writings of Plutarch, and was making preparations for a correct edition of Aristotle. He wrote and spoke both Greek and Latin better, it was said, than his native tongue. So great was his fame, that he received calls from the Universities of Ingolstädt, Leipsic, and Wittenberg; and to the latter university he went as professor of Greek in the year 1518, at the age of twenty-one. Reuchlin had written to the Elector Frederick recommending him: "I

know no man among the Germans who is superior to Master Philip Schwarzerd except Erasmus Rotterdamus, who is a Hollander, and surpasses us all in Latin." It was Reuchlin, then, who unwittingly determined the destiny of his great pupil. He went to Wittenberg instead of Ingolstädt or Leipsic, because Reuchlin commanded it. "Whither thou wilt send me," writes Melanchthon to him, "there will I go; what thou wilt make of me, that will I become." And Reuchlin's answer: "Get thee out from thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing." It was a true prophecy, and had its own fulfilment; the migration of Melanchthon, like that of Abraham, was to be attended with momentous consequences. But they were not what Reuchlin or Erasmus had expected or intended.

To Wittenberg Melanchthon went, where his fame attracted students from all parts of Europe, even from Italy the chosen home of the Renaissance. An audience of two thousand students, it is said, waited upon his lectures, some of them climbing in at the windows in order to obtain their places. His inaugural lecture was entitled "The Improvement of the Studies of Youth," and marked an epoch in the history of education in Germany. His purpose was declared to lead students to a knowledge of the truth by a careful study of the sources of knowledge. The humanist principle is also apparent in this address, — a reformation in the Church by the aid of literary culture. He lectured at Wittenberg upon ethics and logic, Greek and Hebrew grammar, Homer and Plato and Plutarch. Soon after his arrival he published a translation of one of Lucian's works, and then other of Plutarch's writings, and wrote a preface to a Hebrew grammar. But, as if this were not enough, he lectured on the Epistle to Titus, on the Gospel of Matthew, on Romans, and the Psalms. In 1519 he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, but declined, on account of modesty, the proffered degree of Doctor. He was never ordained, and never preached from the pulpit; but on Sundays delivered lectures in Latin on the Gospels to the foreign students in attendance at the University. Such was Melanchthon in the early years of his

residence at Wittenberg; its most popular teacher, attracting crowds of listeners, princes also, and the German nobility. He was the author of the statutes of the University, and thus, by his advice and example, regulated the higher education of Germany, and became the founder of its learned schools. It was Ranke's estimate of him, that he was "one of those extraordinary spirits, appearing at rare intervals, who attain to the full possession and use of their powers at an early period of life." He had the instincts natural to a scholar, and the precision which solid philological studies impart. The title given to him at this time, *Preceptor Germaniæ*, was certainly not undeserved.

But now there came a change in Melanchthon, which will be differently estimated according as our standards vary of what the world requires in its scholars. At Wittenberg that happened to him which Reuchlin and Erasmus deprecated: he fell under the influence of the mighty personality of Martin Luther, to be henceforth devoted heart and soul to the cause of the German Reformation. When his great-uncle Reuchlin learned of his defection, he would have nothing more to do with him. The valuable library which he had intended to bequeath to him was left elsewhere. The passage in Erasmus's work which had extolled Melanchthon for his wonderful achievements as a scholar was withdrawn in the next edition. These men deplored the work of Luther as leading to a revolution which would be fatal to the cause of letters and of learning. We catch the echo of the negative attitude of humanism, as "when some, who heard of Melanchthon's faith in eternal life and the judgment, declared they would esteem him a more modest man if he did not believe such things."

Melanchthon's chief interest henceforth lay in theology, and not in *Litteræ Humaniores*, for their own sake. With instinctive insight he appropriated as his own all that Luther had slowly worked out in agony of soul in his monastic experience. Melanchthon received it easily and without a struggle. The doctrine of justification by faith he embraced as the cardinal principle in theology, and devoted himself to its explication in its larger bearings, and its fortification by all that human learning could bring. He did much for Luther when he gave him Greek, whose significance, as compared with

the Latin tongue, produced a deeper conviction in Luther's soul of the truths which he had already discerned. From the time that Melanchthon listened, an "idle spectator" as he calls himself, to the Discussion at Leipsic where the issues of the age came up for a hearing, he took his place by the side of Luther not only as his devoted friend but as co-worker with him in the same cause and on an equal footing. In 1522, at the age of twenty-four, Melanchthon produced his "*Loci Communes*," the first hand-book of Protestant theology, which has ever since remained a standard. In 1530 it was Melanchthon who drew up the famous Augsburg Confession, and afterwards the "Apology" for it, which was presented to the German emperor. Since Luther was still under the ban of the Empire, it was Melanchthon who stepped forth to represent the new movement on all critical occasions. He appeared at the two diets held at Spires in 1526 and 1529; he was at the Conference at Marburg, and again at Regensburg, when the attempt was made to reconcile the Protestants and the Catholics. He was invited to other countries, — to England and to Denmark; but he clung to Wittenberg and to Luther, and the cause of religion in Germany.

With his high reputation, rivalling that of Erasmus, with his great intellectual powers and his wide scholarship, in view of all that he did for letters and for theology, why is it that Melanchthon is not better known to-day, that men have a difficulty in estimating him, or in giving him his place in history? Luther is still alive and interesting; Erasmus still exerts his charm and fascination; but it is hard to make Melanchthon interesting. A few quiet scholars, living in seclusion, and interested in literature as well as in theology, will tell us that they prefer Melanchthon to Luther, or that Melanchthon, rather than Luther, reconciles them to the German Reformation. But that is all. His name awakens no enthusiasm; it requires an effort to see his features across the gulf of centuries. His face is not an interesting one, as it may be studied in Dürer's well-known portrait. The high, overhanging brow is associated with weakness in the mouth and chin, as though intellectuality were developed at the expense of strength of will. He had the weakness of the scholar who is capable of seeing more than one side of a question. There was not in him the

stuff of which martyrs are made. He was like the English Cranmer in this respect; he knew too much and saw too much to be a narrow partisan. There was nothing picturesque or heroic in his career, as in that of Luther, which appeals to the popular imagination. His reward is that of the scholar and not of the actor. He experienced the truth of the saying that thought widens but lames, action narrows but animates.

We see Melanchthon more clearly in his virtues, as well as his defects, if we compare him for a moment with Luther. The friendship between these men was something beautiful and rare. Although Luther was the elder by fourteen years, yet in reality they were of equal years so far as the value of age is involved. Luther's characterization of the difference between them is final; "I prefer the books," he said in 1529, "of Master Philippus to my own. I am rough, boisterous, stormy, and altogether warlike. I am born to fight against innumerable monsters and devils. I must remove stumps and stones, cut away thistles and thorns, and clear the wild forests; and Master Philippus comes along, softly and gently, sowing and watering with joy according to the gifts which God has abundantly bestowed upon him."

Melanchthon stood by Luther as the teacher stands by the prophet, to correct his unguarded utterance, to test his impulses by the learning of the school, to interpret him to the higher intelligence of the German people. Luther spoke from the feeling of the moment, without the necessary qualification; and if he had lacked Melanchthon's conservative help, might have endangered the cause of religious liberty by the extreme tendency of his attitude. "Luther," it has been well said, "was afraid of himself, and Melanchthon became a piece of his conscience." Luther demanded Melanchthon's assent to whatever he said or thought, and became angry when Melanchthon did not agree with him. But when Luther became too domineering, Melanchthon sulked.

We see the difference between these two men in those critical moments, when Luther's boldness enabled him to push his way through difficulties which confused or intimidated the mind of his gentler colleague. One of these occasions was the rise of the Zwickau prophets, as they are called, the fanatics who followed in the wake of the Reformation. They proclaimed that they had a new revelation; that the Spirit had

come to them anew, independently of Apostles and New Testament, and was imparting truth which it was most important for the age to receive. Melanchthon was staggered by their attitude; he felt that it might be so, and saw reason to think it was so; but if so, the very foundations of his theology were shaken. Only Luther, he said, could decide that question. So Luther came and met the Zwickau prophets, and his first question was as to their credentials. Could they work miracles and thus establish their authority? No, they could not work a miracle, but they could do something akin to the miraculous, — they could tell Luther the actual thoughts which were then passing through his mind. When Luther bid them reveal his thoughts, they answered that he was half inclined to think they were in the right; and Luther afterwards admitted that they were not far from the truth. But in the presence of the prophets Luther showed no weakness, and made no concession. He finally dismissed them with one of his characteristic utterances: "I smite that spirit of yours upon the snout."

And again, in that scandal of the Reformation when the Reformers allowed themselves for a moment to be persuaded that polygamy might be tolerated in princes and the great ones of the earth, it was Melanchthon who was present when the Landgrave of Hesse took the second wife, and thus gave his sanction to the act. But in consequence of the shame and mortification which came to him when the act, which was intended to be private, became known, he fell sick and was nigh unto death. The life seemed to have departed from him, and he lay unconscious, when Luther, who had been sent for, reached his bedside. The mighty spirit of Luther rose to the occasion. It had all been a mistake, that affair of the second marriage, but the Reformation was not to be allowed to perish because of a blunder. "May the Lord preserve us," exclaimed Luther, as he looked at Melanchthon; "how the devil has abused this organ of the divine truth." Then, turning to the window, and placing himself with his back to the company, he prayed fervently to God. "The Lord," says Luther, "was constrained at this time to grant me my desire, for I threatened to have nothing more to do with Him, and poured into His ears all the promises to importunate prayer that I could bring from Holy Scriptures; so that He must needs hear me if I was

ever again to trust His promises." He then took Melanchthon by the hand, saying, "Be of good cheer, Philip, you will not die"; and behold, Melanchthon began to revive, and in a few days was on the road to recovery. Such is Luther's account of the famous event, which some have regarded as a miracle of healing. The English version, however, reads more smoothly than the native German, where, if one may translate literally, Luther declared that he "rubbed the ears of our Lord God" with His own promises. The late Sir William Hamilton was so repelled by the language of Luther on this and other occasions, that he went back and walked no more with him.

The differences of opinion which existed between Melanchthon and Luther show how the scholar survived in Melanchthon and was not overcome by the powerful personality of his friend. Luther denied the freedom of the will, calling man a beast of burden, whom God or the devil might ride, but which could not choose its rider. Melanchthon believed in the freedom of the will. Luther prayed that his followers might learn to hate the Pope more heartily; but Melanchthon would have been willing to see the Pope's authority restored, if it could be understood that it was a human authority conceded him by the voluntary suffrage of the Church. On the same principle he would have retained the government by bishops, while Luther found no use for them. Melanchthon modified the doctrine of justification by faith, so as to approve of the necessity of good works; for some of the stricter Lutherans had gone so far as to protest against the danger they involved. Again, Melanchthon thought that many religious rites which others condemned on the ground that they were papal ceremonies, were indifferent in their character. And, in a word, Melanchthon believed in mediation and conciliation with Calvinists and with Catholics; while Luther, as he browsed over the truth which he had reached, felt the vastness of the difference which divided his own from the other phases of religious belief. Luther spoke contemptuously also of philosophy, while Melanchthon regarded "the union of religion with philosophy as the greatest ornament of a man of culture."

But now there was one moment in the life of Melanchthon when he appeared not in the rôle of a mediator or peacemaker, but as a persecutor, sanctioning the punishment of

heresy by death. He has sometimes been compared to St. John, while Luther has been seen to resemble St. Paul. But the Johannine temperament may have its moods of resentment and revolt. When Melanchthon heard of the execution of Servetus, he wrote to Calvin: "I thoroughly approve the action of your magistrates in putting such a blasphemer to death, in accordance with the sentence pronounced upon him and also in accordance with Justice." Luther, with all his bluster and violent language, would not have approved of the burning of Servetus; so, at least, his followers have maintained. His own words would seem to indicate the futility of suppressing heresy by force, apart from any principle of religious toleration. "Heresy," he has said, "is a spiritual thing that cannot be hewn with any axe or drowned with any water."

When Servetus was burned in 1553, seven years had elapsed since Luther died. Melanchthon without Luther was inadequate and widowed, as if but half a man. It is often remarked that it was a misfortune to Melanchthon when he fell under Luther's influence and was turned aside from letters and culture and philosophy, from the humanism of the pure scholar into the mixed and dubious character of a theologian. Melanchthon himself in a passage in one of his letters seems to justify the suspicion that he was overawed by Luther. Two years after Luther's death, he wrote: "I was formerly compelled to cringe ignominiously to Luther, like a slave, on occasions when he gave way to his stubborn self-will,—a quality of which he possessed no small share." But this could not have been his fullest thought or feeling about his friend and colleague. At any rate, the death of Luther brought him no freedom, but rather worse calamities befell him and his life went out in darkness and sorrow. It was the result of his mediating conciliatory attitude, that he woke up bitter controversies in the Lutheran church, he was treated with scurrility of language, and charged with cowardice and treachery. It almost seems as if the result of the alliance between scholarship and theology was to promote hostility and turmoil, instead of peace and progress. So it was then; so it has been ever since, especially in Germany. Melanchthon died in 1560, at the age of sixty-three, the age at which Luther also died; and was buried by Luther's

side in the Schlosskirche at Wittenberg. A few days before his departure, he wrote down upon a sheet of paper his reasons for not fearing death. On one side of that paper were the negative reasons, "Thou shalt be delivered from sins and be freed from the acrimony and fury of theologians, a *rabie theologorum*"; on the other side, "Thou shalt go to the right, thou shalt see God, thou shalt look upon his Son, thou shalt learn those wonderful mysteries which thou hast not been able to understand in this life."

Luther was the prophet of the Reformation. Melanchthon was the teacher, bringing the resources of human learning to the aid of faith. The alliance then cemented has never ceased in Germany. Melanchthon has always had his successors in that land of scholars, who have fearlessly pursued the truth, wherever true scholarship might lead them. Like their great predecessor, they have dared to differ from Luther, while yet holding him in highest honor and reverence. Like Melanchthon, also, they have suffered for the truth which learning has revealed to them, and have passed their days in controversy. We may recall some of them in our own age,—Schleiermacher and Rothe, Baur and Dorner, men who stood in the foremost walks of intellectual equipment, upon whom the hand of Luther was laid, who could not escape to pure humanism if they would. Their chief interest, like that of Melanchthon, was in theology. Even literary men in Germany have continued to feel the power of Luther. Lessing worked with one hand at literature, and with the other at theology. Goethe alone escaped,—the one great humanist whose faith reposed in culture. These scholars of Germany do their work for theology and then retire, almost in the next generation, into the forgetfulness and oblivion which for many years was the fate which befell Melanchthon. To-day there is one who speaks to the learned world as no man has spoken since the days of Erasmus, upon whom also the hand of Luther rests. The brilliant genius of Dr. Harnack, the unrivalled learning and insight which he so easily possesses, may be to us a type of what Melanchthon stood for to his day and generation. In one sense these men constitute a noble army of martyrs for a cause so high that they get no popular recognition; but they constitute also a succession in the higher life of humanity which is more

precious than all else beside. They stimulate and they beckon onward ; they hold out a reward,— the pursuit of truth for its own sake.

The friendship between Luther and Melanchthon is perhaps the one most interesting feature of Melanchthon's life, and bears witness to the greatness and beauty of his character. Luther declared that he would not give up Melanchthon, even when Melanchthon showed signs of leaning toward Zwinglianism. Melanchthon had said that he would rather die than be torn from Luther. But the friendship of Melanchthon with Calvin is quite as extraordinary as that with Luther. Calvin, who could bear no dissent from his opinion at Geneva, yet loved Melanchthon, who modified his doctrine of election and believed in the freedom of the will. It was a beautiful tribute which Calvin paid to Melanchthon, when amid the misery of his surroundings at Geneva he thought of Melanchthon at rest and invoked him by name. The words of Calvin may have been in the mind of the French historian Renan, as a suggestion for that fine dedication of his "*Vie de Jésus*" to his departed sister:—

"O Philip Melanchthon, for I appeal to thee, who art now living in the bosom of God, where thou waitest for us, till we be gathered with thee to a holy rest. A hundred times hast thou said, when, wearied with labor and oppressed with sadness, thou didst lay thyself familiarly on my breast, Would that I could die on this breast! Since then, I have a thousand times wished that it had been our lot to be together."

A new serial of the Proceedings, containing the record of the December and January meetings, was on the table ready for distribution.